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- Why profits are a good thing.
- The SNP's "Independence within Europe": the definitive political oxymoron?
- What the statistics *really* tell us about the UK's population.
- Battling against Leviathan: a doctor's experiences.

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IT'S ALL JUST WORDS...

Four of the articles in this issue share at least one theme: the use and misuse of words and concepts and how they corrupt rational debate. Professor Levitt notes how common has become the use of catch-all pejoratives such as 'Fascist' aimed at anyone who does not share the 'Leftist' political agenda. (And, in fairness, he notes that this technique has been used by the 'Right' as well.) This can reach heights of absurdity – and even perversity – such as in case of the openly homosexual Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn who was assassinated last year. Fortuyn was placed together by many commentators with other 'Far Right' or 'Fascist' groups due to his opposition to the growing influence of Islam in Holland *because of his objection to what he perceived to be the anti-homosexual, misogynist, and anti-Semitic tendencies of that religion*.

My own contribution serves mainly to demonstrate that the 'multicultural and multiracial' Britain that we now allegedly live in appears to be largely in the imagination of a small but nevertheless highly influential collection of London-based opinion-formers, certain public sector and quasi-public sector workers, and anti-Liberal (in its proper sense) quasi-Marxists.

Richard Garner argues amongst other things that profit is a very good thing indeed. 'Profit' is another word that has become almost a term of abuse rather than the indicator of commercial efficiency and entrepreneurship that it really is.

An independent Scotland and membership of the EU can be separately argued for and against on their own grounds. But, as James Mackie notes, for the SNP to argue for both at the same time is the height of delusion.

In the February 2003 issue of *The Individual*, Professor Antony Flew examined the nature of 'New Labour' and its 'Third Way.' In a conversation with Professor Flew, I suggested that, whilst it had abandoned socialism as a formal creed that claimed to be a model of how the social world should be and how we are to get there, it nevertheless retained and even emphasised the centralising and interventionist instincts to no other end other than 'rationalisation.' In the final article of this issue, Dr Robert Lefever, a practitioner of both medicine and capitalism, gives a chilling insight into just how bad this is becoming. Increasing burdens are being placed on the private sector by State sector politicians and bureaucrats who seem immune to common sense and any responsibility for what they do.

Which is why, on the home page of our website, we say of the SIF: "Over 60 years old and still needed!"

Nigel Meek

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NEWSPEAK: WHEN WORDS CAN KILL

Professor Stephen Levitt

George Orwell warned that Newspeak would become the language of a future totalitarian society. A recent shockwave of closed mindedness and ideological twisting of language in order to control and pervert thought can be observed in today's media and discourse in the use of the epithet 'Fascist'.

When I was in high school, Fascism had a specific definition and delineable ideology. The purest forms of this vile system were found in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. Some of the indicia of Fascism were the use of terror in a police state, the perversion of the rule of law, hatred of Christianity, virulent racism, dictatorial rule by one leader ("Fuehrerprincip") and an economic system based upon military production and protection of corporate interests. Science, learning and discourse were enslaved and stifled. While professing hatred of socialism and communism, Fascists in Europe implemented many elements of the modern welfare state. Above all, Nazis and Fascists rejected the values of the Enlightenment, particularly rational and open discourse and they despised the Liberalism of the 19th century, with its emphasis upon individual rights and liberties and parliamentary democracy.

When one considers the above definition, it is shocking and revolting to discover in today's 'Newspeak' that persons who defend western society and its Enlightenment traditions, who profess love of individual rights and the rule of law, who foster Christian values, or who challenge international corporate interests, are the very people labeled as 'Fascists'. Through some strange phenomenon of linguistic sophistry originating I suspect from deconstructionist thought in some university English departments, many of the enemies and victims of Fascism from the 1930s and 1940s have become curiously and capriciously resurrected and transformed into today's 'Fascists'. The complete absurdity of this upside-down thinking and perversion of language finds its full force and effect in the phrase 'the Israeli Fascist state'.

While few would disagree with the proposition that Fascism was and remains the most evil ideol-

ogy, the meaning of this word cannot be extended beyond recognition, all proportions, and good sense to mean "every idea that challenges the established parties and politics as usual which does not originate from the left". To some extent, Stalin's bloated and self-serving definition of what constituted a "Fascist enemy of the people" has increasingly become our own.

If a word is bandied about immodestly, there must be a reason behind this. When I think of the word Fascism, images of Auschwitz and all of

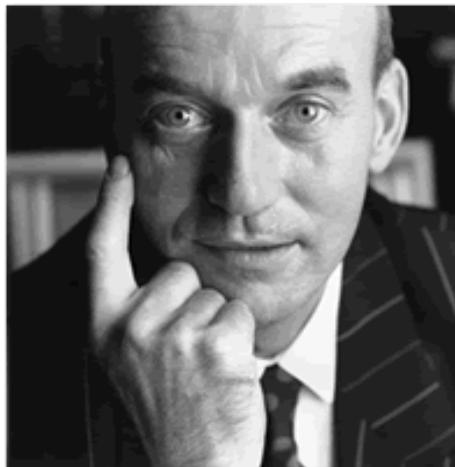
the horrors of this incinerator of human life flood my mind. These images both terrify and silence. Terror and silence end discussion. So it should come as no surprise that when the term Fascist is thrown around in a political debate, it ends the debate. Upon being called a Fascist, the speaker is instantaneously delegitimized, as are all his ideas. Last year in Holland the epithet 'Fascist' was used to legitimize depriving someone of his right to life. "Silence is golden" - how golden it must be for those

in Holland who wanted business as usual to continue unchallenged by the words of Pim Fortuyn.

To be fair, abuse of language is not confined only to ideologues of the left. Whenever there is a discussion of health care or enforcement of anti-trust laws in the United States, the speaker is labeled a Socialist and images of the Gulag Archipelago are paraded before the public to stifle legitimate debate.

After September 11th, free and democratic societies throughout the world are increasingly under attack, as are their values. One of the weapons in the arsenal is the abuse of the term 'Fascist' by committed ideologues. The word, Fascist, is thrown around to stifle legitimate debate. Anyone who opposes the unrestricted movement of products, capital, or persons across borders is called a Fascist. Anyone who opposes greater and greater state intervention in the economy and the life of the individual is called a Fascist. In the case of Pim Fortuyn, the perverse use of the term 'Fascist' was extended even further to legitimize murder. This dangerous and irresponsible abuse of language must come to an end.

"Anyone who opposes greater state intervention in the economy and the life of the individual is called a Fascist."



Pim Fortuyn: 1948-2002

Totalitarian regimes hate discourse and the presentation of a full spectrum of ideas. It is imperative therefore for Americans and all freedom-loving peoples to preserve debate and political discourse on all issues that affect society. In order to preserve free speech fully, citizens must pay careful attention to language, and the dangers of 'Newspeak'. Consequently, the use of the epithets, 'Fascist', and to a lesser degree, 'Socialist',

should not be permitted to become more powerful brakes upon free discourse in western society than McCarthyism ever was.

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INDIVIDUALIST ANARCHISM: A CAPITALIST RESPONSE TO JOE PEACOTT

Richard Garner

I was happy to see the article by Joe Peacott regarding individualist anarchism.¹ Joe is a good friend to both myself and liberty, and it is good that he is working hard to publicise a position that has unfortunately fallen so far into obscurity.

However, I would like to object to some of his points. First, on the idea of ownership based on use and occupancy: If the person who is entitled to own a piece of land is whoever is occupying and using it, doesn't that threaten the security of people who go away on holiday? I mean, they could just go away for a month or so, but get back and find that in their absence someone has moved into their house, onto their land, and is the new occupier and user, and therefore, in Joe's eyes, the new rightful owner! Obviously neither Joe nor Benjamin Tucker would assume any such a conclusion, but I can't see where they would draw a line. Maybe they just mean that, even though a person may go away and leave his land, he should not be able to rent or sell it to others.

"Profit occurs when revenue minus costs results in a positive sum."

However, if Joe is arguing this point, then he runs into another problem. This problem was brought up by a correspondent to Tucker's paper *Liberty*, Mr Auberon Herbert. Herbert acknowledged Tucker's view that an anarchist society would have independent juries or courts, and personally contracted defence companies to protect user-occupiers against eviction, but he then wrote,

"As regards rent, I think all Anarchists, including even sober-minded Liberty, use force to get rid of it. The doctrine of use-possession seems almost framed for this purpose. Even if it suits persons to sell me land, and it suits me to buy it, and it suits other people to rent it from me, - as I understand Liberty would not sanction the proceeding. We are all of us, in fact, to be treated as children who don't know our own interests, and for whom someone else is to judge. You may reply that under the anarchist system no action would be taken to prevent such an arrangement; only that no action would be taken to prevent the tenants establishing themselves as proprietors and ignoring their

rent owed to me. Good; but then how do you justify the fact that there is a proposed machinery (local juries, etc.) to secure the possessor who holds under use-possession and to prevent his disturbance by somebody else? Put these two opposed treatments together, and it means to say that a certain body of men is to decide for others a form in which they may hold property, and a form in which they may not. The desires and conveniences of the persons themselves are set aside, and, as in the old forms of government, a principle representing centralisation and socialistic regulation obtains. Is this Anarchy?"²

Tucker never answered this argument satisfactorily, can Joe?

A further but related complaint is in the view that rent and interest are "unearned" and profit is theft of a worker's income. First, the issue of profit: Profit occurs when revenue minus costs results in a positive sum.

I work in a bookshop that sells remaindered books. Publishers send books to the major dealers, like Waterstones, to sell. Those books that Waterstones don't sell they send back to the publishers. Naturally, because the publishers don't want them, they sell them at a tremendous discount price. This is what happens when stock is remaindered. Because my shop is thereby able to get its stock at a discount price, it can sell books at greatly reduced prices: sometimes as low as 99p for a book that was £8 or £9.

Sometimes we get customers coming into our shop in to look for books they tell us they know are at Waterstones, and that they tell us they are prepared to pay the full publishers price for at Waterstones, but want to see if they can get it cheaper from us first. In short, they are seeking to get the same book they would have got, but at a lower price. Because it is the same book, the value they get out of that book is the same, but the price they pay for it is lower: Thus they are reducing costs in relation to revenue. If revenue

minus costs is a positive sum, then they make a profit. So what these customers are seeking to do is maximise their profit. How evil of them? Surely we should abolish profit, and thus make sure that their costs are not lower than revenue... but this would imply forcing customers to pay the highest price there is for the book, since then their revenue would not exceed their costs. Is that a good thing, though?

Or take this example: Workers in their union negotiate for a higher wage. They want more pay. They do not want correspondingly longer hours, or poorer conditions, just more pay. This is the state of affairs with most industries, especially public sector ones. But this means that workers want to increase their revenues without increasing costs. Unlike the customers at our bookshop who are getting the same revenue they would have got elsewhere, but at lower costs, these workers want the same costs, but higher revenue. But the effect is the same: Greater profit. If profit is evil and should be abolished, then surely we should force these workers to work the longest possible hours in the worst possible conditions and for the lowest possible wages... or none at all. That way we could guarantee that their revenue does not exceed their costs, and so they make no profits.

"If profit is evil and should be abolished, then surely we should force these workers to work the longest possible hours in the worst possible conditions and for the lowest possible wages... or none at all."

Now surely Benjamin neither Tucker nor Joe Peacock want customers to pay higher prices, or workers to get lower wages, but in indiscriminately condemning profit this is what they unintentionally say should happen. They forget that, in a world where our rights in ourselves and the resources we peacefully acquire are well secured, nobody can benefit from us without our consent... though we may have good reason to give it. In such a situation all interaction will be voluntary, including market transactions, and since both parties enter into the transactions in order to increase their utility, both gain mutually. Hence there can be no exploitation on the free market. Only when the state intervenes can exploitation occur, and hence class conflict rests on state intervention and state intervention alone - not on the ability to make a profit, but on the ability to profit at another's expense.

And what about interest? Well let us start by noting that capital is productive. Capital adds to the productivity of the firm. If you don't believe me, if you think that only labour is productive, I'll challenge you to a race: The one who digs the deepest hole in the shortest space of time is the winner... only I'll have a spade, and you'll only have your bare hands - just your labour. I bet I win! This example illustrates how capital makes labour more productive. It also allows for a wider division of labour which, we all know, results in a more efficient and productive use of labour. So capital is productive. Even though socialists deny this, they also believe it - for why else do they

want workers to be put in possession of it? Why else would Tucker and his friends concoct a scheme with the aim of increasing workers' ability to obtain their own capital, if only labour is productive? No, capital does add to the productivity of the firm, and hence those that receive capital from a lender benefit from it.

But what about the other side of the equation? A person in receipt of capital may gain, but does the lender lose out by lending? Tucker wrote that

"... all who derive income from any other source abstract it directly or indirectly from the natural and just wage of labor; ... this abstracting process generally takes one of three forms, - interest, rent, and profit; that these three constitute the trinity of usury, and are simply different methods of levying tribute for the use of capital; ... capital being simply stored-up labor which has already received its pay in full, its use ought to be gratuitous, on the principle that labor is the only basis of price; that the lender of capital is entitled to its return intact, and nothing more."³

Hence, in short, if I borrow something that is yours, I should only give back that thing and not anything more. But I doubt the sincerity with which Tucker, Peacock and other socialists hold this position. Imagine that one day you went to receive your pay packet only to find that your boss hadn't given it to you. Upon questioning she explains, "oh, I'm not giving it to you. You see, I need it myself." Now frankly I would expect socialists to be up in arms at this blatant example of exploitation - how dare she refuse to pay you your contracted wage on the mere excuse that she needs the money herself? "Its OK," she adds, though, "I'll give it to you next year." Is that a good excuse? Do you think the socialist agitators protesting this exploitation are going to buy into this explanation? I doubt it: They will surely say, well what is he supposed to do in the mean time? And would they not also believe that even if she held true to her promise and did pay you what she had borrowed, in full, next year, you are not entitled to any compensation for all the lost value that resulted from your inability to use your own wages for your own ends during the year? But if she paid you compensation in addition to the wages she borrowed from you, then she would be paying you back more than the actual sum she borrowed. She would be paying interest.

The point is this: Receiving your wage is, at the moment, more valuable to you now, or as close to now as possible, than receiving it in a year's time, or at some other distant time. In short, you have a higher time preference for money now than you have for it in the future. Hence for somebody to persuade you to give up your ability to have money now and opt for having the same money in the future, they have to offer you something which makes up for your loss of the money now. In short, they have to pay you more than what

they are borrowing from you. In effect, they are only paying enough so that the value of the wage you would receive next year if you agreed to let your boss keep it now is the same as the value of receiving the wage now, but the effect is the same: In order to compensate the loss of value you suffer by foregoing present consumption in exchange for future consumption your boss would have to pay you in excess of the value of the wage to you in the present, meaning she would have to offer you interest. This she would do because her time preference for the money is greater than yours... perhaps because capital is productive.

Hence interest on capital is a price like any other. Moreover, this analysis does not differ from that of rent. When somebody rents something to you on the basis that they will get it back, they give up present consumption in favour of future consumption - it costs them. The rent merely compensates this loss, and people voluntarily agree to it because land is productive. People who think that the use of capital or land should be 'gratuitous' clearly also believe that their bosses should be able to withhold their wages until a later date, without compensation, on the basis that their bosses need them!

But rent and interest are also earned in a manner additional to the mere fact that lenders of land or capital undergo sacrifices for the benefit of those they lend to. Rent and interest are prices, the same as any other price. The role of a price in a free market economy is to communicate changes in supply and demand and to give people incentives to respond appropriately, by increasing supply to meet a rise in demand, or decreasing to meet a fall. When the demand for a good rises, its price rises and so more money can be made by selling it. This encourages people to do so, meaning that supply increases until a new equilibrium is established. When demand falls, the opposite happens: Less money can be made supplying a good, so people stop doing so and switch to a more prosperous sector of the economy (i.e. allocate their resources to where demand is higher). Hence, if demand for wheat falls and demand for potatoes rises, the rent for land to be used for wheat crops will fall, and the rent for the land to be used for potato crops will rise. Rent and interest are, therefore, no less a reward to the lender for allocating his resources to where they are most needed than is a wage the worker's reward for allocating his labour power to where it is most needed. Rent and interest are therefore as much earned income as the worker's wage is.

Hence the words of Murray Rothbard:

*"On the free market everyone earns according to his productive value in satisfying consumer desires. Under statist distribution, everyone earns in proportion to the amount he can plunder from the producers."*⁴

The real class struggle is not between lenders and borrowers, capitalists and workers, landlords and tenants, or employers and employees. These are all parties to productive free market transactions, voluntarily consented to and mutually beneficial and profitable to both parties. The buyer of a product profits just as its seller does. The employee profits just as the employer does. The borrower profits just as the lender does. Market transactions are not zero sum games in which one party only gains if the other loses. On the contrary, only when the state intervenes does such a thing occur. The only reason the state intervenes is to get people to stop doing what they would otherwise be doing and to compel them to do something else. They thereby lose value that they would have obtained otherwise. But those who benefit from the people's doing something else thereby gain. Hence, unlike market transactions where both parties gain, state intervention allows some parties to gain at the expense of others.

This is the real class struggle: Between the state and its beneficiaries, versus the producers, *including capitalists, landlords and profiteers*; between those who align themselves with the society of status, the *ancien régime* and use the political means to wealth, the ruling apparatus, thus making themselves the ruling class, on the one hand, and on the other, those who align themselves with the society of contract, and use the economic means to wealth. The moment that socialists stop aiding the ruling classes by driving producers against each other, and start identifying the state and its taxes and monopolies as the true enemy class, the greater hope there is for us all.

"This is the real class struggle: Between the state and its beneficiaries, versus the producers..."

Notes

1 Joe Peacott, 'An Overview of Individualist Anarchist Thought', in *The Individual*, February 2003, pp16-18.

2 Auberon Herbert, in 'An Alleged Flaw in Anarchy', in *Liberty*, 29th November 1890. Reprinted in Benjamin Tucker, *Instead of a Book By a Man Too Busy to Write One*, New York, Haskell House Publishers, 1897/1969, pp209-210.

3 Benjamin Tucker, 'State Socialism and Anarchism', in Benjamin Tucker, *State Socialism and Anarchism and Other Essays*, Colorado Spring, Ralph Myles, 1888-1892/1972, p13.

4 Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr., 'Murray N. Rothbard: A Legacy of Liberty'. The full article can be found as a cached webpage via the Google search engine, www.google.com.

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Individualism versus Narcissism

“The plague [of laws and regulations] is a fact contrary to the received wisdom of the day, by which society has become overly individualistic. Here exists a deliberate confusion of narcissism with individualism. The individualist desires a situation of maximum liberty and a minimum of coercion, while the narcissist is content with a maximum of consumer goods to satisfy every little childish whim and a minimum of voluntary social restraints such as manners and consideration for others.”

“... a deliberate confusion of narcissism with individualism.”

Extract from Larry Gambone's 'Plague of the Law Locusts', in *Total Liberty*, Vol. 3, No. 3, autumn/winter 2002, p13.

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THE UK IS NOT A “MULTIRACIAL, MULTICULTURAL” COUNTRY

Nigel Meek

“In today’s multicultural, multiracial Britain...”

No doubt that readers will have heard a politician, campaigner, or media commentator – or just about anyone from the contemporary Establishment – say something along those lines countless times over the last few years. Perhaps on the basis of the theory that if you say something often and confidently enough people will come to believe it, the idea that Britain is multiracial and/or multicultural is now taken as read by many. It is a notion that seems rarely questioned.

Yet, if one does question it – ironically using the Establishment’s own sources – it soon becomes clear that the idea that the UK is multiracial and/or multicultural is untenable. What I intend doing in this brief essay is firstly to demonstrate why this is so, and then secondly to suggest three reasons why nevertheless it is promoted with such energy.

Race and Culture

Before moving on to look at the data, any essay on this subject needs to come with its obligatory ‘conceptual health warning’. ‘Race’ and ‘culture’ are not the same. Both the ‘multicultural Left’ and the ‘racist Right’ have conflated the two and between them have contributed to the poisoning of rational debate.

By ‘race’, I mean genetic characteristics, most visibly in the colour of someone’s skin. It is something that one can do nothing about, even if one wanted to. Over time, Darwinian evolutionary processes may have their impact, but for each individual it is an unalterable legacy handed down by one’s genetic parents. By ‘culture’, I mean the beliefs and attitudes one takes up from one’s social heritage. Culture, too, can change, albeit by a Lamarckian evolutionary process by which, for example, post-natal acquired characteristics of parents can be transmitted to their children.¹

It is not specifically my purpose here to argue for the superiority of modern Western civilisation over others, and certain others in particular such as radical Islam. However, we must have a reason why the issue of culture and/or race is important in the first place. Therefore, discussing ‘Modernity’ – which I take to be essentially synonymous with ‘Western civilisation’ - David Kelley put it very well when he wrote:

“The cultural foundation of [Modernity], if we state it as a set of explicit theses, was the view that reason, not revelation, is the instrument of knowledge and arbiter of truth; that science, not religion, gives us the truth about nature; that the pursuit of happiness in this life, not suffering in preparation for the next, is the cardinal value; that reason can and should be used to increase human wellbeing through economic and technological progress; that the individual person is an end in himself with the capacity to direct his own life, not a slave or a child to be ruled by others; that individuals have equal rights to freedom of thought, speech, and action; that religious belief should be a private affair, tolerance a social virtue, and church and state kept separate; and that we should replace command economies with markets, warfare with trade, and rule by king or commissar with democracy.”²

“Western civilisation can be adopted or rejected by anyone, regardless of his or her race...”

Western civilisation can be adopted or rejected by anyone, regardless of his or her race, and it is vital that we never forget that. However, inasmuch as in the UK currently non-Western cultural adherence tends to be coterminous with racial minorities, we can for the purposes of this essay treat them as being associated with each other. As a final qualification, we must also be careful not to imply for the racial majority – with all its variations of sex, social class, and location, let alone personal temperament – a degree of cultural homogeneity that no nation of tens of millions could or should aspire to.

Racial Demographics in the UK Today

The data from the 2001 National Census found on the National Statistics website provides us with all the information that we need to refute the claim that Britain is multiracial and/or multicultural.³ Table 1 sets out the ethnic breakdown of the whole of the UK.

Table 1: Ethnic Population in the UK, 2001		
	n	%
White	54156606	92.12
Indian	1052327	1.79
Pakistani	746623	1.27
Mixed	676076	1.15
Black Caribbean	564376	0.96
Black African	487950	0.83
Bangladeshi	282188	0.48
Other Asian	246915	0.42
Chinese	246915	0.42
Other	229278	0.39
Black Other	99942	0.17
Total Population	58789194	100

In almost any branch of the academic social sciences or commercial market research industry, the finding that approximately 85% to 90% of the

population - let us be very 'generous' indeed and accept some large and disproportionate under-counting of those from ethnic minorities due to illegal immigration etc. - fell into just one behavioural, attitudinal, or socio-demographic group, and that furthermore the remaining 10% to 15% were split across no fewer than 10 separate categories with none containing more than 2% of the total, would assuredly *not* be taken to indicate an heterogeneous or 'multi-anything' population. Far from it: the researchers would report on a largely homogenous population with a number of minuscule minorities.

As an aside, even to talk about an ethnic minority population of around 10% to 15% is insufferably patronising. For example, what do middle-class Indians and Chinese have in common with inner-city Blacks beyond the entirely (linguistically) negative status of being 'non-White'?²⁴

We need not detain ourselves any further on this: the point is so simply made.

Why the Untruth?

If it is a matter of easily observable fact that Britain is not multiracial and/or multicultural, why do people keep saying that it *is*? There are no doubt numerous reasons, many of which interact with each other. However, I suggest that we can identify at least three in particular.

The Dominance of London

The least 'sinister' reason - and why above I wrote 'untruth' rather than 'lie' - results in a combination of two phenomena: that the ethnic minority population is not evenly distributed within the UK, and the huge dominance of London and the south-east of England both in terms of sheer population and as the focus of a disproportionately large amount of the political, economic, and cultural life of the country.

"... a largely homogenous population with a number of minuscule minorities."

It can be seen from the 2001 Census data that, when broken down by the 376 local authorities in England and Wales, a hugely disproportionate share of the UK's ethnic minority population live in and around London.⁵ Of the only two local authorities with more than half (50%) of their population coming from ethnic minorities, both of them are in London: Newham with 61% and Brent with 55%. Out of the 15 local authorities with an ethnic minority population greater than two-thirds (66%), with the exception of Leicester every single one of them is in or around London. Out of the 22 local authorities with an ethnic minority population of more than a quarter (25%), we can only add Birmingham to our list of non-London and the South-East local authorities. (And I should add that almost all of these relatively multiethnic 'London and the South-East local authorities' are actually in London itself and

not the surrounding Home Counties.) Or to turn the matter around, of the 56 local authorities with an ethnic minority population of 1% or less, not one is in London and the South-East.

Indeed, the Census data⁶ indicates that just under half (44%) of all ethnic minorities in the UK live in London with a further 8% living in the neighbouring south-eastern part of England. Looking at the UK as a whole, Wales (98% White), Scotland (98% White) and Northern Ireland (99% White) have a negligible ethnic minority population.

For 'opinion formers' of one sort or another, disproportionately likely to be at least partly based in and around London, talk of a "multiracial and multicultural Britain" may well reflect their own experiences. However, London is not the totality of the UK, even if those of us who are London-based sometimes give the rather arrogant impression that we think that it is!

Because it is Profitable

The next reason, again often - but not always - not so much sinister as annoying - even to those with no principled antipathy towards the State and quasi-State sectors - is that a lot of people are doing-very-nicely-thank-you out of it.

The topic of, say, 'the race-relations industry' is something that can easily get libertarians and conservatives very agitated. Not because of the knee-jerk view of those on the 'Left' that those on the 'Right' are usually closet racists, but because it is an example of a waste of tax receipts which could either be used for something more sensible or returned by way of tax cuts, and/or minority pressure groups imposing their particular world views on the rest of the unwilling population.

The illusion of a multiracial and/or multicultural Britain enables the creation of a whole new range of occupations at national government, local government, and NGO level, often substantially paid for by the taxpayer and which would rarely be created if left to market forces or genuine voluntary philanthropy.⁶ Similarly, at a psychological level, they also provide expressive outlets for instincts that, again, would not likely exist absent of State provision or subsidy. Moreover - and which is where it *does* get worrying and which will lead us on to the next section - these individuals and groups often have a disproportionate influence on the legislative and cultural life of Britain.

From personal experience as someone who has worked in different capacities within the State sector, the only group of people who are unambiguously being helped by the Welfare State - and I use this as a catch-all term for usually 'Leftist' do-goodery including minority cultural and racial 'advocacy' groups of all sorts - both in the short-

term and the long-term, are the 'new class' of functionaries and activists that run it.

If readers are sceptical about this claim, then where better to look for confirmation than our old friend, *The Guardian* newspaper? Looking just at its online version, *Guardian Unlimited*, using the search facilities in its jobs section for a single day – the 4th April 2003 – found 26 unambiguously ethnic-related job opportunities afforded by multiculturalism.⁸ They were of varying sorts, salaries and locations. However, amongst them, my favourite had to be the Racial Equality Officer sought by Wiltshire Racial Equality Council. The two Wiltshire local authorities – North Wiltshire and West Wiltshire – each have an ethnic minority population of less than 2%.⁹

As a Means to an End

However, by far the most important reason and already hinted at in the previous section, is that the whole edifice of multiculturalism has an essential ideological purpose as the precursor to the destruction of 'our way of life'.

I have discussed this in detail elsewhere,¹⁰ but briefly it is based upon the latter-day communist concept of 'hegemony'. This is where a social system is sustained because the majority of its citizens have internalised a certain set of values. 'Revolution' cannot occur until these values have been undermined. Through this analysis, the authoritarian Left failed previously substantially because it did not wholly succeed in undermining the cultural foundations of liberal capitalism. Therefore, in recent years, whether or not consciously following such a strategy, multiculturalism and much of what accompanies it has been one of the key weapons of those seeking to undermine Western liberalism.

This is why multiculturalists have been particularly assiduous in targeting the education system. With its frequent emphasis on cultural relativism and its wilful blindness to both the flaws in other cultures and the highlights of the Western and particularly the Anglo-Saxon tradition – such as "individual liberty, political democracy, equality before the law, freedom of worship, human rights, and cultural freedom", all things unique to the West¹¹ – much of the teaching in the contemporary social sciences and humanities is now designed to sow doubt, to undermine notions of certainty about social facts, and instead to insert material that is Marxist or at least Marxoid.¹²

Let Us Not Take This Too Far

The argument about immigration is obviously closely connected to this whole matter.¹³ However, they are nevertheless separate. There is nothing in principle to stop one being opposed to multiculturalism whilst supporting large-scale im-

migration providing 'the Establishment' has the cultural certainty and political will to insist that immigrants to this country – and those already here, of course – acknowledge their duty to assimilate. In earlier times, most obviously and beneficially amongst the Jews that arrived in the last 19th and early 20th century, this was certainly the case.¹⁴

Nor should we be so arrogant to think that those from other cultures have nothing new and positive to offer us. The then Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, once famously championed a multi-racial Britain by claiming that chicken tikka masala was now Britain's true national dish.¹⁵ In which case, as someone who is very partial to 'Indian' and 'Chinese' food, I happily admit to being a 'chicken tikka masala multiculturalist'. To continue with the culinary analogy, I have no aversion to new items being added to the British cultural menu, and indeed some I wholeheartedly welcome, but I object most strongly to the entire menu being changed.

Conclusion

Despite the qualifications in the preceding section, in summation (a) it is empirically demonstrable that the UK is *not* a "multiracial, multicultural" country, and (b) those who continue to insist that is do so for reasons ranging from the distortion in perception caused by where they live to much more sinister reasons connected with undermining liberal capitalism.

We need to understand 'who we are' as a culture, to be confident in believing that *overall* our culture is superior to others, and to insist that those who we allow to come here – and *we* will decide this – assimilate in all important respects whilst remaining open enough to accept those good things that newcomers may bring with them.

Notes

1 Ayn Rand put it well when she said that "Racism is the lowest, most crudely primitive form of collectivism. It is the notion of ascribing moral, social or political significance to a man's *genetic lineage*" [emphasis added]. In Sheldon Richman, 'Hijacking a Principle', in *Ideas on Liberty*, March 2003, pp2-3.

2 David Kelley, 'The war against modernity', in *Spiked Online*, 30th July 2002, URL: www.spiked-online.com/Articles/00000006D9B1.htm.

3 *Regional distribution of the minority ethnic population, April 2001*, in National Statistics website, URL: www.statistics.gov.uk/STATBASE/Expodata/Spreadsheets/D6589.xls.

4 See Charles Hinkley, 'Minority Report', in *Horizons*, the magazine for National Statistics custom-

"I happily admit to being a 'chicken tikka masala multiculturalist'."

ers, No. 24, March 2003, pp12-14. In this semi-official article looking at its own 2001 Census data, Hinkley make the comment that "There may be a tendency [amongst policy-makers] to consider all ethnic groups as one homogenous population, but this could not be further from the truth." His article also highlights the fact that race is a potentially dangerous analytical variable to use on its own. For example, differences arise in academic attainment within minority racial groups when sex is used as a control variable.

5 White Ethnicity in English and Welsh local authorities, in National Statistics website, URL: www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/profiles/rank/ewwhite.asp.

6 *Regional distribution of the minority ethnic population, April 2001*, ibid.

7 Robert Whelan, *Involuntary Action: How Voluntary is the 'Voluntary' Sector*, London, Institute of Economic Affairs, 1999. This slim volume notes that much of what we think of as the 'voluntary' sector is in reality bought and paid for – and thus beholden to – the State.

8 Jobs homepage of the *Guardian Unlimited*, URL <http://jobs.guardian.co.uk>. This search was conducted between 6pm and 7pm on the 4th April 2003 and successfully used the following keywords: race, racial, ethnic, ethnicity, minority, multicultural, Asian, Black, and Caribbean. No doubt, other synonyms could have been used. Using the job description that came with each advert, only vacancies in the public sector or in NGOs etc. that were unambiguously connected with ethnic minorities, emphasised that a familiarity with ethnic minority issues was an advantage,

"The SNP claim of
"Independence
within Europe" is a
complete scam."

or went out of their way to solicit applications from those from ethnic minorities are included in the total.

9 White Ethnicity in English and Welsh local authorities, ibid.

10 Nigel Meek, *Modern Left Multiculturalism: A Libertarian Conservative Analysis*, London, Libertarian Alliance, 2001.

11 Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (revised ed.), New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1999, p132.

12 Peter Hitchens, *The Abolition of Britain* (revised ed.), London, Quartet Books Ltd., 2000, pp47-49.

13 For a highly recommended, recent, and very readable study of this issue see Anthony Browne, *Do We Need Mass Immigration? The Economic, Demographic, Environmental, Social and Developmental Arguments Against Large-Scale Net Immigration To Britain*, London, Civitas, 2002.

14 Gerry Black, *Living Up West: Jewish Life in London's West End*, London: The London Museum of Jewish Life, 1994.

15 Patrick Wintour, 'Chicken tikka Britain is new Cook recipe', in *Guardian Unlimited*, 19th April 2001, URL: www.guardian.co.uk/racism/Story/0,2763,475043,00.html.

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INDEPENDENCE WITHIN EUROPE? THE SNP AND THE EU

James A. Mackie

The SNP claim of "Independence within Europe" is a complete scam. Either they do not know the details of the Treaty of Rome and following Treaties or they are hiding the truth from the electorate. Labour's claim that an independent Scotland would be divorced from the rest of the UK is true, but even they are not telling the truth. Is this because it would expose the outcome of joining the Euro?

Under the Treaty of Rome and various following Treaties, once the UK or any independent part of it accepts the Euro, all control over the Country moves to Brussels. Under the Treaties, the UK is to be divided into 12 regions as part of the 188

regions of Europe. All national gold and currency reserves have to be transferred to the European Bank. Do we really want to do this when the German and French pension schemes are heading for bankruptcy? Our armed forces would become part of the European Army and under the control of European commanders, currently a German General. The UK would no longer have an "independent" armed service and would be unable to deploy it independently to trouble spots of the world. Europol, the European Police Force currently headed by a German police officer, would have jurisdiction over us.

The UK is a net contributor to the EU. Once

signed up for the Euro all taxation and interest rates will be set by faceless bureaucrats in Brussels. With the recent agreement for a number of former Soviet block countries to join the EU, EU spending is set to increase. EU spending in the UK can only decrease and taxation must rise.

Under UK law an action is legal unless prohibited by law. Under the EU everything is illegal unless approved by law. And who writes European Law? A team of bureaucrats, who, along with all other European bureaucrats and European Commissioners, are immune from prosecution. Scrutiny of the European Commission is impossible, as all files are not open for scrutiny. MEPs merely rubber-stamp EU law and directives, they

have no power to change it.

One asks where the idea and rules for the current EU comes from. Suggested reading is *Developments towards European Economic Community*, an essay written by Nazi economist Professor Horst Jecht in 1942.

“Independence within Europe?” Not a chance!

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FROM DISILLUSION TO DELIGHT

Dr Robert M. H. Lefever

“The NHS is largely a system run by the middle class for the benefit of the middle class...”

I assume that most doctors would want to see that patients who had the greatest need and least capacity to help themselves, would be the ones who are most likely to receive help through a State system. Sadly, the experience of my professional lifetime is the opposite. The NHS is largely a system run by the middle class for the benefit of the middle class and with emphasis on the clinical conditions most likely to be suffered by the middle class. Services are poorest, and the doctors least well qualified and equipped, in the areas where the demand is greatest. Most people live in cities and they have the worst services. There is something fundamentally wrong in the State healthcare system.

As an undergraduate, as an active member of the North Kensington Labour Party, I was fiercely in favour of the NHS. This enthusiasm persisted into my early professional life. After a year of general practice training in Caterham (in those days one was not allowed to work in one's definitive practice in an area in which one had trained and I therefore chose to train somewhere that I had absolutely no intention of ever seeing again), I worked as an assistant first in Shepherds Bush and then as a partner in a practice that spread between High Street Kensington and the Harrow Road. As the junior partner, I was mostly stationed in the Harrow Road end of the practice. For two years I worked in an office where there was no washbasin. This was common in that part of London and had also been a feature of the Shepherds Bush practice. It seemed odd that my colleagues would have such little professional regard for clinical examination of patients but I learnt very quickly that General Practice was primarily a social service and that the perceived greatest need was merely for prescriptions and

certificates rather than for early diagnosis and appropriate initial treatment. I am not the greatest clinician in the world but at least I believe that medical practice should involve something more than a paternalistic smile.

Another feature of central London practice at that time was that it was relatively impoverished. Doctors were paid the same wherever we worked in the UK but our expenses were inevitably higher in central London. Therefore we had less to take home. In my second year in the Kensington partnership I took a locum appointment in an east coast town so that I could earn some money during my summer holiday. I saw a different level of clinical practice and a more personal relationship with patients. I had always enjoyed the human side of general practice, as opposed to the mechanistic aspects of hospital work, but it now occurred to me that one could get the best of both worlds. I therefore resigned my partnership, converted our home living room into a waiting room and the dining room into a consulting room and put a plate on the front door that announced to the world that my home was now a doctor's surgery.

On the first morning of my first day in independent practice (still under the NHS) I saw one patient: a friend, Margaret Humphrey-Clarke. She came to see me quite deliberately just so that I would be able to say that I had seen one patient on my first day. None came to see me that first evening so she was indeed the only person I saw that day. I covered other doctors' practices at lunchtimes and in the evenings but by the end of the first year I had built up a list of a thousand patients of my own. I survived, even though my own practice did little more than cover its expenses in that first year because, as with all doc-

tors, I was paid retrospectively at the end of each quarter and based upon the number of patients at the beginning of the quarter.

I then drove a coach and horses through the NHS restricted area system (in which some areas were deemed to be over-doctored and others under-doctored) by forming a partnership between my own practice in North Kensington – an open area – and two doctors in South Kensington – a closed area. The NHS Authorities said that we couldn't do that but our argument was that the formation of a partnership was entirely up to us. The arrangement suited the South Kensington partners because I provided much of the night work and weekend cover and also covered their practices for holidays. It suited me because it gave me a toehold in South Kensington where I had spent part of my childhood and where I had always wanted to work.

The clinical standards in this particular practice were no better in South Kensington than they had been in my previous partnership. There was a secretary but no nurse and, again, no facilities for clinical examination. However, first one and then the other partner left medical practice and I found myself promoted to being the senior partner of a group practice at the age of thirty-four.

"My eyes were opened when I saw the clinical standards of my American counterparts."

I jumped at the opportunity of getting new premises, designing them to my own specification, bringing in two new enthusiastic junior partners, getting a range of staff – and proper clinical facilities so that for the first time in my professional life as a GP I could wash my hands after examining a patient.

Between the three of us we built up the practice to thirteen thousand five hundred patients on our regular list and we also saw sixty temporary patients each week. It must have been one of the busiest medical practices in the whole country. However, our income did not represent that fact because our expenses must also have been among the highest in the country. We employed six staff but, as was the general rule, the Government contributed only 70% of the salaries. The 30% that we had to provide in South Kensington would have covered 100% of a staff salary in many other parts of the country. Secondly, the Government contributed to the cost of premises but only if they corresponded to strict specifications, for example on the size of the waiting room. I pointed out that there are no "green-field" sites in South Kensington and that one has no choice but to convert existing property – if one can find it at all. In any case, I argued that the size of a waiting room was not an important factor if one had long consultation hours and an effective appointment system – which we had. This argument was not persuasive and we were therefore reimbursed with only two thirds of the actual cost of our premises even though we worked full time for the NHS.

We had plenty of opportunities for private practice but rejected them.

We enjoyed our work and certainly made an impact on the healthcare system in our local area. All went well until the General Election of February 1974 after which Harold Wilson brought in his Social Contract between the Government and all "useful" people. He and his unspeakable Health Minister, Barbara Castle, put up the income of general practitioners by 6% but the staff salaries by 30%. As our expenses already comprised 40% of our gross income, the practice clearly could not survive in its current form and with its current philosophy.

The three partners sat down together to discuss what we should do and our split decision was based, ultimately, on the ages of our children. Mine were already at school age and therefore I could afford to spend longer hours away from home whereas those of my younger partners would benefit more from having greater parental contact. The partnership therefore dissolved, with the other two doctors staying in the existing premises and cutting services in an exclusively NHS practice while I returned to single-handed practice and began to take private patients.

With the disillusion brought about by my experience of a Labour Government, I visited the USA with a view to emigration. My eyes were opened when I saw the clinical standards of my American counterparts. It had never occurred to me that doctors could have not only washbasins but also simple laboratories and even x-ray units. Nor did it occur to me that doctors might go to a post-graduate lecture at half past seven in the morning because they actually wanted to improve their clinical skills.

On returning to the UK I realised that, much as I loved America, I loved London more. I therefore resolved to try to recreate in London what I had seen in America. I was fortunate in being able to buy the flat next door to the existing medical practice and I was even more fortunate in being able to get planning permission to establish my independent practice there. I did indeed design a small laboratory and an x-ray unit (into which subsequently we also installed ultrasound examination equipment) and the nursing room had an ECG machine (a rare commodity in general practice in those days) and also a sterilizer and equipment for eye tests, ear tests and lung function tests. To all intents and purposes I created a one-stop shop.

It took almost two years to create that new practice. During that time, I worked out of two rooms at the back of the former group practice. One of them had a washbasin so at least that was something. As it happens I have never in my entire life had such a high income (taking account of

inflation) as I did in those two years. I had a full list of NHS patients and minimal expenses on premises and staff. I was providing very poor quality service for my patients but getting very well rewarded financially for doing so.

At that time I did two surveys of general practice clinical care in the South Kensington area. The first was through examining the use of hospital diagnostic facilities by GPs. I found that the average GP, with a practice of two thousand four hundred patients, arranged for one pathology test (blood test, urine test etc) a day, one x-ray of any kind a week, and one ECG a month. This represents clinical neglect on a simply vast scale. Furthermore, with GPs doing work that could have been done by nurses, it meant that hospital consultants had to do work that could have been done by GPs. The financial costs of that misapplication of human resources are immense. So much for the NHS being the envy of the world! The second survey showed that there was one full time member of staff to every five doctors in the area and one part time member of staff to every three. As most general practitioners in those days were single-handed it demonstrated that a significant number of doctors had no staff whatever. I remember one colleague telling me proudly that she had a good income because the first patient had to turn on the light.

"Private general medical practice is not phenomenally expensive, when one puts it alongside what people spend on alcohol, cigarettes and gambling."

I opened the new premises on 4th July 1976 as a deliberate homage to American Independence Day. I was determined to bring to London the quality of care that I had seen in America. For four years I tried to persuade the NHS to adopt the model of the PROMIS Unit (as I called my new practice in deference to the Problem Oriented Medical Information System of Professor Lawrence Weed and the University of Vermont) as an alternative model to the standard Health Centre in which there may be district nurses, health visitors, chiropodists and heaven knows who else but no diagnostic facilities. The Department of Health were totally unimpressed and suggested that I should try to persuade my professional colleagues to support the idea. The British Medical Association were also supremely unimpressed.

All I was asking was that the Government would pay for the cost of the x-ray films and the cost of the laboratory reagents. I already owned the equipment and employed the staff. Predictably, the Department of Health refused my requests. They knew perfectly well that this would be the thin end of a political wedge and that general practice would become a clinical rather than social service.

I had taken private patients in order to pay for the comprehensive facilities and staff. The NHS has a built-in system to discourage private practice in NHS practices and I believe it is right to do so.

Whatever proportion of the doctor's income is received from private practice is deducted in that same proportion from the allowances paid towards the costs of premises and staff. I refused to provide a two-tier service to my NHS and private patients and therefore gave my NHS patients full free access to my x-ray and laboratory facilities and I paid the full costs from the income that I gained from private practice.

After four years of this crusade I had totally failed to persuade anybody in political circles to support the ideas. By that time my expenditure on my NHS patients exactly matched my income from the State. I saw no point whatever in pursuing that hopeless quest. Crusades may be magnificent but ultimately one has to be realistic.

At the same time, I had read Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* and realised that I had been fundamentally wrong in my altruistic beliefs. People do not benefit from the State system. I had seen in practice that this was true but now I understand from Ayn Rand *why* it was true. I recognised that the Communist GP Dr Julian Tudor-Hart's *Inverse Care Law* – that those who need the most help are least likely to get it – was actually caused by the State medical system. I resigned altogether from the NHS in 1980 – and received a lot of abuse from patients (lawyers, accountants, politicians and civil servants among others) for "abandoning" them. One lawyer wrote me a six page hand-written tirade of abuse. Very few of these NHS patients, despite their professional standing, became private patients of mine. The two populations are different philosophically. Those patients who could afford private practice but stay "loyal" to the NHS do so because they believe they have rights. Those who become private patients do so because they acknowledge their responsibilities – and because they appreciate what it takes to provide good quality services in any area of human activity.

Interestingly, quite a number of former NHS patients who did come to see me privately were those whom I would not have anticipated could possibly afford to do so. The local milkman said "you stuck by me: I'll stick by you" – and he did. Private general medical practice is not phenomenally expensive, when one puts it alongside what people spend on alcohol, cigarettes and gambling.

My private practice gradually built up and I took on a full partner. We worked together happily for ten years but eventually this partnership dissolved amicably on a difference of clinical interest. I became particularly interested in patients who suffer from alcoholism, drug addiction, eating disorders and other compulsive behaviours, whereas my colleague retained a primary interest in asthma, heart disease, diabetes, cancer and all the other bedrock clinical conditions. I share his interest in those clinical subjects but I felt that provision for them was already generally well covered whereas

the patients I was interested in tended to be clinical rejects. Furthermore, I felt that the work that I was doing was really preventive medicine at its most important level. If I could get patients to give up smoking, reduce their alcohol consumption and stop doing all sorts of things that were damaging to themselves and other people, then some would never need the care of doctors who specialised in cancer, heart disease and the other major clinical conditions that fill up our hospitals – until they did so simply through age and decay – and there would be less domestic and social trauma.

However, I accepted that each doctor has his or her own clinical interests and therefore it was perfectly reasonable that we should part company. On that same basis, I would not criticise doctors for choosing to work in the relatively privileged conditions of the NHS rather than give their services to the truly destitute in the Third World. My former partner and I still work next door to each other in our separate general medical practices and we remain good friends, as indeed I do with my former NHS colleagues. Incidentally, both of those doctors – five and ten years younger than me – have now retired from the NHS in disillusion.

In 1986 my wife and I re-mortgaged our home and our medical practice and built the PROMIS Recovery Centre, a residential treatment centre in Nonington, near Canterbury in Kent – and close to our weekend cottage. We built it in that part of the world so that we could run it ourselves at the weekends and because the cost of property is so much cheaper than in central London. We had attempted to fund it through charitable sources by establishing the PROMIS Trust, with the Archbishop of Canterbury as the President, a noble Lord as the Chairman, and various other members of the nobility and clergy and the Great and the Good as the members. After one year we had raised not a penny. Addiction isn't sexy.

My wife, Meg, and I therefore funded the Treatment Centre ourselves. In the first year we tried to give help to those who most needed it and who had least capacity to pay for it. I reckoned that everyone could afford £10.00 a week out of Social Security benefits and therefore I offered fifty consecutive patients free treatment provided they paid me back £10.00 a week during the subsequent two years. I was once paid one £10.00 note. By the end of that first year I had lost £1,000 a day. It was only because property values had increased dramatically during that particular year that I was able to re-mortgage and survive. My wife and I had to move down to the basement of our home and we took patients into the ground and upper floor as an extended care facility or halfway house. In due course that came to grief when the Social Services Department decided that room sizes had to correspond with those of nurs-

ing homes. I pointed out that our patients were generally young and fit and that if we caught them in bed in the afternoons we would discharge them from treatment. This argument was not persuasive and the bureaucrats had their way: the only halfway house in the borough had to close. The regulations were met – by the simple process of having no-one left to regulate.

We sold our former home and moved down to South Kensington, near our medical practice. In due course we established an outpatient facility in separate premises in South Kensington and that has now expanded to cover two substantial mews houses. A third house (in a row) has now been made into a thirteen-bed eating disorder unit and we hope to establish these entire premises as an independent hospital.

Enter the National Care Standards Commission (NCSC). The Government, through the Care Standards Act 2000, established a set of principles for all medical care, State or private. The Department of Health bureaucrats then converted these principles into a set of core standards and further sets of specialist standards for particular institutions, such as mental hospitals. Altogether there are sixty-two such standards that apply to PROMIS. For each of these standards we have to establish a set of procedures to show how we will implement the Government standards. Then, for each of those policies, we have to establish a set of training programmes for the staff. Then, for each of those training programmes, we have to establish monitoring systems to ensure that the training was implemented. Specifically, in the mental health standards, it is acknowledged that the intention is “to reverse the balance of power”. Further, there is the requirement that we should be *“pro-active in addressing the needs of individual patients with due regard to race, ethnicity, religion, gender, age and sexuality and so forth”*. How on earth one could do that absolutely beggars belief. Political correctness is one thing but absolute craziness is altogether another.

“Further, there is the requirement that we should be “*pro-active in addressing the needs of individual patients with due regard to race, ethnicity, religion, gender, age and sexuality and so forth*”.”

I believe that we are currently in the “White Russian” phase of this revolution. The members of the National Care Standards Commission whom I have met – as with the members of the National Institute for Clinical Excellence – are highly motivated in a positive way and have been appreciative of the work that we try to do at PROMIS. However, we live in a culture of complaint, accountability and blame. This will inevitably lead to the “Red Russians” taking over in due course from the “White Russians”. The notes that I made last Christmas on the requirements of the Care Standards Act 2000 amounted to fifty-three pages – and these were simply the jottings that I made in instructing my senior staff on how we needed to prepare the various policies and procedures. I believe that the completed document of policies, procedures, training programmes and monitoring

systems will run to over one thousand pages. This will be a legal document. I shall be accountable for it. Lawyers – who, along with governments, can be guaranteed to destroy anything creative when they put their minds to it – will in due course argue that PROMIS has failed their clients on particular subsections of particular policies and therefore that we should be deemed to be irresponsible and not worthy of our licence. They will then argue that their clients should be reimbursed with the cost of their fees for treatment at PROMIS.

Doubtless they will play the same games with the PROMIS Unit, my general medical practice, which has also been ensnared into supervision by the State through the NCSC. One particularly bizarre feature of this State supervision is that private GPs now have to send copies of their consultation notes to the patient's NHS GP or to the patient to take to his or her NHS GP. The idea that a patient might not want to have an NHS GP – I myself have none – does not occur to statists. Or perhaps it does occur and they want to make life as difficult as possible for private doctors. In my single-handed private general practice I have taken on an additional full time secretary purely in order to do the paperwork now required by the State.

"...the difference between a welfare state and a totalitarian state is merely a matter of time."

Periodically during the last seventeen years of operation of the PROMIS Recovery Centre, we have had lawyers argue that when their clients had relapsed after receiving treatment from us, this meant that our clinical services were inadequate and not worth paying for. Further, they argued that our patients were not in a fit state to make appropriate judgements at the time that we accepted them for treatment and therefore they should not be deemed to be responsible for the costs. Lawyers will indeed destroy anything if they possibly can.

At present everything in the garden is lovely. We passed our first inspection by the National Care Standards Commission with flying colours – and so we should. Incidentally, we have provided reams of paperwork for the NCSC but they very rarely reply to my letters at all when I have asked for advice or interpretation. I suppose the same is true for these bureaucrats as for any others – they don't want to get caught holding the parcel when the music stops. I can understand that general principle in an under-valued branch of the Civil Service or independent sector (as the NCSC term themselves) but it doesn't help those of us who have the creative urge. I sympathise with the probability that they are under-staffed and under-funded – but that now cramps me. By taking the private sector under the wing of supervision by the State, there may be a few third rate practices that can be stopped – but I fear that there will be a large number of first rate practices that will be hindered. The absence of negatives does not necessarily produce the presence of positives.

I was talking to my friend Tim Bell, Lady Thatcher's PR guru, recently and I mentioned my concerns for the future. His response was that creativity will always find a way. I hope he is right. I fear, however, that the story of my professional life shows that Ayn Rand is right when she says that the difference between a welfare state and a totalitarian state is merely a matter of time.

Dr Robert Lefever MA MB BChir ARCM runs the PROMIS unit of primary care in Kensington, London, and the PROMIS Recovery Centre (www.promis.co.uk) in Nonington, Kent. This essay was submitted to both the Society for Individual Freedom and the Libertarian Alliance and was published by the latter organisation earlier in the year.

Socialism, Individualism, and Capitalism

"Capitalism is better suited to be the antithesis of Socialism than Individualism, which is often used in this way. As a rule those who contrast Socialism with Individualism proceed on the tacit assumption that there is a contradiction between the interests of the individual and the interests of society, and that, while Socialism takes the public welfare as its object, Individualism serves the interests of particular people. And since this is one of the gravest sociological fallacies we must avoid carefully any form of expression which might allow it secretly to creep in."

Extract from Ludwig von Mises' *Socialism*, 1932/1981, Indianapolis, Liberty Fund, pp106-107.

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*The SIF's Aim:
To Promote Responsible Individual Freedom*

The SIF believes...

- ✓ That the individual, rather than the State, is the primary source of morality and authority.
- ✓ That private citizens should have the freedom to act as they wish provided their actions do not harm others, and that the law should exist principally to guarantee such individual liberty and not to act as a paternalistic guardian; in the primacy of freely negotiated contract; and in Parliament as the supreme law-making body in the United Kingdom.
- ✓ That an efficient free-market economy benefits all, and that the State's economic function should mainly be limited to the prevention of violence and fraud and similar obstacles to honest competition and co-operation.
- ✓ That taxes in the United Kingdom are far too high and erode individual responsibility and enterprise; and that in a truly free society citizens, with the benefit of higher post-tax earnings, would be free to decide upon their own priorities, with usually temporary government assistance concentrated upon cases of unavoidable hardship.
- ✓ That justice shall be administered by courts that are not subject to political pressure; and that government decisions have no validity unless founded on clear legal authority.
- ✓ That to preserve the liberties of private individuals we need more independent-minded Members of Parliament, a stronger Second Chamber, and more effective parliamentary control over the executive.
- ✓ That there is too much influence on government from pressure groups that call for legislation of an unnecessary and restrictive nature, thus not only adding to the material burdens on individuals and corporate bodies but reducing one's capacity to learn personal responsibility, self-reliance, and voluntary co-operation.

SIF Activities

The SIF organises public meetings featuring speakers of note; holds occasional luncheons at the Houses of Parliament; publishes this journal to which contributions are always welcome; and has its own website. The SIF also has two associated campaigns: *Tell-It* that seeks to make information on outcomes of drugs and medical treatments more widely known and available to doctors and patients alike, and *Choice in Personal Safety* (CIPS) that opposes seatbelt compulsion.

Joining the SIF

If you broadly share our objectives and wish to support our work, then please write to us at the address on this page, enclosing a cheque for £15 (minimum) made payable to the Society for Individual Freedom.

Could You Write for *The Individual*?

We are always looking for contributions to *The Individual* corresponding with some aspect of the aims and beliefs of the SIF. These can range from referenced essays of an academic nature to personal opinions, experiences, and insights.

The subject might be almost anything that you can think of. It can be something of your own or in response to another's contribution in *The Individual* or elsewhere.

Length can range from a few hundred words to several thousand. Submissions should preferably be in electronic format, although this may not always be essential.

If you have never written for publication before, then don't worry. We are happy to give

advice and will never publish anything without the author's final approval.

As well as being published in hardcopy form, *The Individual* will also be uploaded onto the SIF's website.

We also welcome letters in response to articles printed in *The Individual* or other aspects of the SIF's activities.

If you think that you might be interested, then please contact us using the details on this page.

The Editor of *The Individual* and the Management Committee of the SIF reserve the right not to use any submission.